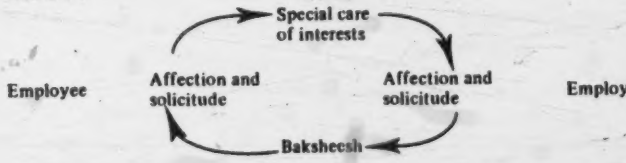
5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

employer give something in excess of their contractual obligation. These services and gifts over and above the formal contract are a form of social exchange. Both parties seem to be expressing affection and solicitude for the other. The worker does this by special care for his employer's interests; the employer does it by 'baksheesh'. The latter are never just extra handouts or cast-offs, though these may also be given. They are usually responses to appeals by the worker who describes an emergency that has arisen for which he requires some object of usually quite limited value: old batteries, a little kerosene, etc. It is the employer's solicitude in response to a claim which gives these objects their special value (though, of course, they have some monetary value as well). This social exchange can be expressed in the following diagram:

MODEL 6



This model represents the ideal norm of the relationship, as seen by the Orokaiva. He is well aware that the reality often falls far short of the ideal norm: not all employers show affection and solicitude. It is, however, a more serious flaw of the model that the white employer would totally reject it; his ideal norm of the employer-employee relationship is a very different one that does not involve social exchange (or baksheesh) at all. There is, in fact, a conflict of ideal norms between employer and employee. The actual arrangements on the plantations, which I have briefly sketched, are a sort of compromise or accommodation between the two conflicting concepts of employment: the employee accepts the fact that baksheesh is usually rather unwillingly and rudely handed over, as being a regrettable white man's custom; and the employer somehow makes room for a minimum of baksheesh on his balance sheet.

The fact that the conflict of values remains unresolved in this relationship does not vitally threaten plantation development, but similar conflicts are not so easily sidestepped in the Orokaiva's relationship with government and the mission. Neither community development nor religious conversion will be successful without some ideological commitment on the part of the receivers of the message. Obvious though this statement is, it is worth while to spell out its implications here, as it applies to the implementation of government policy.

Policy is formulated in Port Moresby and promulgated by the Administrator in the form of ordinances and regulations. Instructions on the enforcement of these are prepared by the Department of District Administration in Port Moresby and interpreted, in the light of local conditions, by the Department's officers in Popondetta, the administrative centre of the Northern District. But how can these ordinances and regulations be enforced in the jungle by a very limited number of patrol officers? Until 1956, a rather simple procedure was used. The patrol officers appointed a large number of suitable Orokaiva as village

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Mountain Orokaiva

constables, instructed them to report any trouble, visited the villages, looked for evidence of non-compliance with instructions, punished delinquents, left further instructions with the village constable and threatened further punishment. The trouble with this procedure was that the changes it could produce were of rather limited scope. All the Orokaiva needed to do to keep the patrol officer satisfied was to attend to things that could be seen on a visit (the state of the roads, houses, latrines, the grass in the villages, the quota of obligatory rubber trees, etc.) and to avoid the kind of trouble the village constable could not help reporting (murders, serious dissensions).

Social and economic development, however, depends on the communication of ideas, on encouraging regular schooling, use of medical facilities, cash-cropping, the development of markets, participation in local government, preparing the young for careers outside the district, encouraging capital formation and entrepreneurship, improvement of agricultural techniques, land titles, and so on. In the 1950s, when the government became deeply interested in these objectives, it created local government councils, abolished village constables, and rather forcefully changed its emphasis from the enforcement of compliance to the inducement of collaboration. Some of the Australian officers told me they found this shift rather frightening: if there was no jail for non-compliance, how could one be sure that the Orokaiva would take any notice? On the other hand, Orokaiva conservatives found the shift in policy frightening for the opposite reason: as they told me, the village constables left Orokaiva social life virtually intact, except that occasionally someone would be sent to jail for a while – a mere ripple on the surface of community affairs. But since the government councils were established, and the councillors came round regularly making long speeches, and since the new institutions listed above had actually been demonstrated to be useful, the foundations of the old way of life were beginning to be undermined.

With the help of the councillors, the government's ideas were certainly being communicated, but hardly ever by the government's own officers.[4] The only white officers who regularly visit villagers are young, inexperienced patrol officers, dependent on interpreters. Speech-making is only a minor part of their role and not the most successful. All the councillors I have heard, however, are master propagandists. As the government's aim is clearly the communication of ideas, it would be hard to find a more efficient method than the present one, where the government communicates to the councillors and leaves the latter to do the rest.

An interesting and somewhat unusual exchange cycle results from these transactions. The exchange partners are the government and groups of Orokaiva villagers. The objects of exchange are information (emanating from the government) and respectful attention (on the part of the villagers). I use this term 'respectful attention' as the nearest translation of Orokaiva *ingari* which means 'to hear', 'to understand', 'to follow advice' – and comes closer than any other word in the Orokaiva vocabulary to the notion of obedience and compliance. The exchange cycle may be expressed in the following diagram:

scheme to Ioma and other areas. At Ioma "it was only when faced with the alternative of going to gaol for failure to pay tax that they were induced to work on the plantation .... In other districts the natives elected to pay their taxes in money" (P.A.R. 1925-6 : 52). The scheme survived, according to Captain Humphries (1944 : 2) who was at one stage responsible for it, "only because of the gaol that loomed in the background."

The standard penalty for failure to work was three months' imprisonment which was served by working on the government coconut plantations at Buna or Ioma, or on the government rubber plantation at Kokoda. These plantations were worked entirely by prison labour (apart from supervisory and specialist staff) and many of the older men we spoke to had served sentences for breaches of this ordinance. In fact, as Mair (1945 : 83) notes, the existence of government plantations which had no provision for paid labour acted as an incentive to prosecute for breaches of this and other laws.

Daily work on the community coffee gardens was supervised by the village constables who were thus in a position of considerable authority. Nevertheless, this role may not have been particularly congenial for the constable was as likely as anyone to be punished for failure to keep the work up to standard. There was not a constable for each village, and the constable at Ongoho, for example, was responsible for the nine Asigi villages which worked the Ongoho block.(1) The constables in turn were supervised by Papuan foremen known as "coffee bosses", each of whom was responsible for a number of communal gardens. The "coffee bosses" in turn were responsible to the European Controller of Native Plantations who was based at Higaturu.

Such was the difficulty of getting labour to carry the produce from the factory at Higaturu to the port of Sanananda (near Buna) that a special regulation was passed requiring all able-bodied men to carry produce whenever instructed to do so.(2)

(1) For supervision of the plantation and normal police services he was paid ten shillings per year.

(2) Native Plantations (Northern Division Carrying) Regulations 1928.

extension staff left, the internal tensions re-asserted themselves.

The people made an attempt to keep the garden working as the price of coffee was then 3/3 per pound. Persons from several sub-clans participated in harvesting, pulping and drying and a consignment of coffee was taken on foot to Popondetta (a distance of about seventeen miles each way by the paths then in use). For the first time women and children helped with the harvesting. The income from sales was distributed by the coffee boss, but disputes arose over the proportions due to the "landowners" for the use of the land and to the coffee boss for his supervision, as well as the relative shares to be given to those who had done the work, for some had not worked as many days as others. Members of other sub-clans again withdrew from the project. The coffee boss himself and some members of Hoiwo'undi sub-clan occasionally harvested a little coffee to provide money for particular needs, but most of it was left untouched. No further maintenance was done. When the Higaturu Council and its supervising officer, Mr. Normoyle, strongly advocated planting by individuals rather than groups, a number of people took seeds from the community garden and established their own individual coffee plots.

When the Higaturu Council erected a coffee factory in Popondetta late in 1959, councillors were encouraged to maximise coffee production in their areas. The Ongoho councillor (who is a half-brother of the ex-village constable)[1] was able to persuade some people to start harvesting again. On this occasion each family was to be allowed to harvest, process and sell whatever coffee its members picked.[2] People were to be allowed to pick anywhere and at any time. No maintenance was done except on one occasion at the beginning when all people worked together to clear the undergrowth. This system

(1) When the council was formed all village constables were compulsorily retired.

(2) The produce was still taken to Popondetta on foot. The Higaturu Council provided a tractor and trailer to collect coffee from various points along the main Saiho-Popondetta road, but Ongoho was about eight miles from the nearest point. As a flat rate of one penny per pound was charged for the service, the Ongoho people did not use it. They used to leave Ongoho at dusk and carry all night and arrive at the factory early the following morning.

As Mair (1948 : 85) has noted, the fact that officials could fall back on compulsion gave them no encouragement to considering any alternative approach. The European officer's link with the people was through the village constable, and from what the Orokaiva tell us this line of communication operated in one direction only, for most constables felt that it was improper to query instructions given by Europeans, or to make suggestions to them. Not only was no attempt made to create local institutions which could have carried responsibility for community projects, but the imposed organizational structure did not provide the people with an acceptable model on which to fashion any new local institution. The vesting of all powers of sanction in the central government, moreover, forestalled the possibility of their spontaneous emergence.

Problems of income distribution: While the Administration paid each individual separately, no overt problem arose, but when government ceased buying and the coffee was sold to a trading company a lump sum was given to the person or persons who brought it in, usually the local coffee boss. Relatively few Orokaiva were literate (among the Asigi there were none) though it may have been possible to have made equal payments to all persons. However, as the community was unable to enforce equal work this was not feasible. Had there been a sufficient standard of literacy it may have been possible to operate on co-operative rather than communal lines (i.e. making payment in terms of work contributed) but in fact few people had the necessary degree of literacy and almost none had any knowledge of book-keeping.

Problems of motivation: The Orokaiva were never willing participants in any of the communal schemes (with the exception of rice growing in 1949). Some of them may have begun some of the projects willingly, but continued operation was only achieved by force. The money incentive was quite inadequate: most of the schemes produced no income at all, and those that did gave less (in cash and kind) than employment elsewhere. As already noted in the section on work organization, there was no social incentive to continued production.

It has been suggested that the pre-war community projects were merited in that they introduced the people to the

Hamburata Communal Garden

Before the war there were four cash crops planted at Hamburata: rice, coconut, palm oil and coffee. The rice was planted on Atupa clan's land. Five villages took part in the work .... There were 29 clans .... The villagers worked for the rice for one year without any pay. The rice was harvested in bags .... The people brought the bags of rice to Buna but the government did not pay them for the work they did on the rice. They worked for the rice for one year only ....

The second crop planted at Hamburata was coconut. The coconut was planted on land of Atupa clan .... The coconut plants were still young when the villagers were told by the government to plant another crop. The crop was palm oil .... The palms were planted on Haumepa clan's land. The villagers planted the oil palm and looked after them for one year and the government told the people to plant another crop. The other crop was coffee.

The coffee was planted on Seharipa clan's land .... They worked every day .... They got pay once in every year. The government officers used to come to the village. The government used to send police to the village to look after the people to work on the coffee .... When the war was near the government did not send the police to the village for this work. After that all the people in the village stopped work .... After the war they did not work on the plantation until the Mt Lamington eruption. The coffee was near the Ambogo river so the river was flooded and washed the plantation away ....

177 in Papua (Territory of Papua 1908-9:19). In 1904, 4 village
464 constables had been appointed from the peoples along the new road.
By 1908 members of the various tribes were peaceably trading with
625 the carriers along the road (Territory of Papua 1907-8:22).

166 In about 50 years preceding the establishment of their present
361 village the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them
177 been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14
village sites within an area of about 2 square miles adjoining
the Sohu River. Informants claimed that they or their ancestors
moved from 11 of these under instructions from government officers
to amalgamate into larger units. During this period members of
several other descent groups have either accompanied them or
[G21] established independent villages and worked land of their own in
the same area. Intermarriage among contemporary villages there
was common and individuals frequently moved from one to join kin
in another.

166 The 4 Jegase lineages can trace the history of their groups
361 back to a point of common origin in the first decade of the
613 century in the village of Simbehata and its 'satellite' Totogata,
both on what is now Jegase land hardly a mile from the present
site of Sivepe.[1]

(1) Migration 1900-50: The Bebehupa moved from Simbehata to
Korogombata[2] and were joined by some members of Usohu living
nearby.[3] Except for 3 families which moved out to form Kisisita,
Aurija and Andakahambo villages, they remained there until about
1937 when they were asked by the Administration to reunite with
these 3 to establish Korinasusu. One of the 2 major pre-war
tracks from the coast to Kokoda lay nearby and when Japanese and
Australian troops moved along this in 1942 the people abandoned
the village and moved into isolated garden huts. Most villagers
returned to Korinasusu after the war but 1 group founded Nahihita
nearby.

[G57] In 1950 the Administration instructed the Bebehupa of
Korinasusu and Nahihita to join the Usohu people living in
Gogovosusu and Binduta to form one large village. Up to that
time the villages had been confined to Jegase land but because

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[1] For place names mentioned in this section see Map.2. A

[2] Mentioned as a 'Jegase village' by Williams in 1923 (W.83), as are Sivepe, Pusahambo and Hanimkumbari (see pp.34-7). He also lists them as Awala villages.

[3] A number of the older Jegase men claimed that the Usohu people formerly regarded themselves as members of Jegase clan.

A, [See Category 102, p. 40--Analyst]

556 [898] [178] Our brief investigations indicated that neither seniority by age nor seniority by genealogical position is invariably an attribute of the men who today exercise power among local agnates or have influence in a wider local group. This may indicate recent cultural change. These men very often achieve and maintain such a position as men who are personally active in a wide range of affairs[1] (delegation of responsibility by issuing orders is sometimes spoken of as characteristic of the European system of leadership). They will be vigorous gardeners,[2] organize feasts and participate in a wide range of traditional exchanges, at the same time building a reputation as a man who has acquired material wealth, e.g., livestock and - to a lesser extent now than formerly - traditional valuables.

555 Not the least of their assets may be a reputation as a practitioner of 'white' magic, or as a dangerous man who has assiduously developed the skills of a sorcerer. The roles of 'big men' with these attributes may not be directly related to their age or genealogical status in a descent group. There are often several such dominant figures in a village.

621 [622] The diffuse pattern of authority evident in villages in the neighbourhood under discussion may be ascribed partly to the fact that the present nucleated settlements are the culmination of a series of what the people feel to have been enforced amalgamations of independent kin groups. Even before this process began no source of political cohesion existed in the form of inherited positions of authority commanding the continuing allegiance of sizeable local groups of dependents.

C25 The expansion of villages to embrace more kin groups was accompanied by a proliferation of independent minor leaders in a single local group, not by the consolidation of positions of power. A patrol report of 1948 also revealed that the large Isivita, Isoge and Awala 'native districts' had received so little attention from the District Office nearby that the organization of villages under village constables had been allowed to deteriorate 'almost to chaos' since the Japanese occupation. 'One constable was found looking after eight scattered hamlets.'[3] Moreover in some cases migration seemed to have been so extensive that the areas of a number of constables overlapped.

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[1] Cf. kiti iigari (p.30).

[515] [2] Polygamists were able to maintain larger garden areas than other men. On the incidence of polygamy in the past see Williams 1930:130.

[3] Note that in 1924-5 among the Aiga 4 of the 10 village constables were each in charge of 6 or more villages.

249 recent agricultural census listed 55 stands with 13,700 trees in
433 the Saiho Census Division (which coincides roughly with the 'Periho'
311 area) and another 3,700 trees in the Sangara Census Division. However, according to the 1964 census there were 14 Saiho villages with stands, carrying 10,000 rubber trees altogether, 4,500 of them less than 6 years old and another 3,500 less than 10 years old.[1] There were also 46 individually-held plots recorded with 8,000 trees, all less than 10 years old. The total number of rubber trees on village-stands in the Saiho, Sangara, and Togahau Census Division was put at almost 26,000.

249 b. The agreement between the lessee and the villagers was modified
657 in 2 ways after the war. When the scheme was resumed in 1943 the
[434] Administration decided that in order to facilitate the handling of money, the royalty to be paid to the owners should be changed from a percentage basis to a flat rate of a shilling twice a year per tree tapped;[2] and the royalties set aside every 12 months by the lessee were sometimes withheld by the District Office so that the people did not receive payment for more than 18 months, although the contract provided for half-yearly payments.

249 c. Until 1946 local villagers were employed by the lessee to tap
[464] their stands. A tapper would work in his own area but his task necessarily included some stands belonging to nearby villages other than his own. This caused some misunderstanding at first but the owner's suspicions were eventually allayed.

[625] The Village Constables had been responsible for seeing that
[623] the magistrate's instructions were obeyed when the plantations were established but apparently the Village Councillor in some cases assumed control over the distribution of the income among the 'owners', who were listed in 1 schedule of the agreement, although the money was shared under the supervision of a government official. One man recalled that 1 delayed payment of £114 was made for rubber from a number of stands owned by members of his village; he claims that the money was shared by more men than those named in the agreement drawn up several years before.

d. The lessee believes that the stage at which contract arrangements were conducted to the best effect and greatest satisfaction of the villagers was the period 1943-6 when he arranged to employ some of them as paid tappers.[3]

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[1] These would include self-sown trees.

[2] There is no evidence to support Belshaw's assertion (1951:13) that the owners were at one time receiving a royalty of only 6 pence per tree.

[3] In September 1943 government officers reported that there was a good daily yield as the trees were in good condition.

249 the money from latex sales fell this time to the tappers. Either because tappers, village officials and 'owners' had not reached agreement on a method of sharing the money or because they expected that any distribution needed to be supervised as before, tappers from some villages asked the planter to advise them on the distribution of the income. On one occasion many villagers retained their income pending the planter's return after an absence of 18 months (during which time the rate of latex-buying fell to a very low level). The cases where arbitration was sought often involved £20 or £30 and sometimes £80; in most cases an agreement was reached to share the proceeds equally between the tapper and the owners, who in turn took equal shares. One sanction confronting a number of tappers who were reluctant to divide the money was the prospect that the latex they produced would not be bought if they failed to co-operate.

[625] When the new village of Sivepe was established after the eruption the Village Constable who had worked on rubber estates at Sogeri in the Central District before the war organized the resumption of work on the Pusahambo stand and taught some of the younger men the rudiments of tapping. A roster system which is still in operation was introduced at about that time. Except for residents not descended from the original planters and of 2 former residents of Binduta, who continue to share the income from the Korinasusu stand with Binduta tappers,[1] each villager in Sivepe with any knowledge of tapping is given exclusive rights to the produce from the Pusahambo stand for 1 or 2 months.

No one has power to direct the long-term operation of the scheme and there are no formal arrangements governing the exact period for which each man may tap the trees or determining the sequence of tappers more than 2 or 3 months ahead. Periodic discussion seems to ensure that each tapper has satisfactory access to the trees.

The present system is not conducive to the adoption of measures for field maintenance of the rubber stand or for the preservation of tapping panels. Each man works to produce as much as possible in a short time. After that he has no further interest in the stand for perhaps 18 months when he resumes tapping. Accordingly nobody is inclined to accept responsibility for the maintenance of the stand.

Few tappers work systematically; many trees on the periphery of the stand are bypassed for long periods while those towards the

[1] Like many other stands in the subdistrict Korinasusu has not been tapped regularly in recent years. The planter finds that production from stands still being tapped reaches the peak about the time annual council taxes are due.

177 instituting numerous training programmes for the development of
657 skills hitherto unknown to Papuans, and by setting up organisations
647 in which Papuans wield a limited amount of political and administrative responsibility. It suffices, for my present purpose, to enumerate modern roles, performed by Papuans, with which the people of Sivepa came into contact during the year of my field study.

[799] In the church, Papuans now play not only the role of mission teacher, but also of priest (as Fr. Albert McLaren) and Bishop (as the Most Rev. George Ambo). Fr. Albert was the priest of the local parish, while the Bishop paid one visit to the district during the year, namely for the consecration of the church at Duve, a great formal occasion attended by at least 1,000 people, from the whole of the Sasembata district.

[625] Village constables exist no longer, but their place has been taken by the Local Government Council. Two of the councillors were regular visitors at Sivepa; the sanitary inspector appointed by the council, who lived at Garombi, came even more frequently, while many Sivepa people had occasion, during the year, to visit the Council chambers at Higaturu, where all officials are Papuan, with the exception of one European who acts as Advisory Officer to the Council and also as Magistrate for Native Court cases. Locally we had an officer named "Committee," which meant that he was a member of a committee appointed by the local councillor to enforce council regulations in the villages. Each village has one committee member whose tasks are not unlike those of the village constable, though the concept of the role is rather different, and will be discussed below.

[759] While the only medical role allotted to Papuans at the time of the eruption was that of orderly, nowadays there are Papuan physicians, two of them in the Northern District. One of them is medical officer for the district and the other, a woman, is attached to the hospital at Saiho. An increasing number of Papuans are being trained as Assistant Medical Officer, a five-year course. One of the graduates was attached to the mission hospital and aid post at Sasembata. Aid posts have been established by the government in many Orokaiva villages and manned by aid post orderlies who were trained in the Saiho Aid Post Training School. Inonda village is served by an orderly trained under this scheme (stationed at Hohota, three miles away), but the training scheme has been discontinued in favour of a more efficient scheme. The training of Papuan nurses started in 1958 while nursing aide training has started more recently. In addition to general training, these nurses are given an intensive course in maternal and child health.

[875] The same movement into senior statuses was characteristic of Papuan educational personnel. First, the training given to mission teachers before the eruption was in the main ecclesiastical, while in the Northern District in 1966, 35% had been through at least one year of formal teacher training; a smaller number had obtained a

829 I thought at first that this representation of Orokaiva history
173 (from the dark ages into a great future) was put on specially for my benefit. When I found Orokaiva were talking to each other in precisely the same terms, I thought that this view was held perhaps principally by persons with a vested interest, such as councillors, committee, etc. However, as I stayed longer, and became somewhat more trusted, I could still find no trace of nostalgia for customs that had been abandoned. I did, of course, become aware of the deep attachment the Orokaiva have for those of their traditional customs which they still practise, and values which they still hold.

[124] I shall quote in detail one document, a tape recorded speech
[126] made by a councillor in the Orokaiva language, which is typical of the present Christian Orokaiva self-group image. I have a number of others, consistent with this one in essence, though differing in some details to which I shall draw attention. Though Councillor Colin's speech was specially made up to be recorded by me on tape, during a session when several other recordings were made, its general tenor was no different from the speeches he interminably made at other times. The only slant that may have been unusual was the extent to which he referred to past history. I had asked, on this occasion for stories of olden times (iji matu). The councillor started with a brief sketch of the wars of his forebears; he stressed that he and his listeners were the descendants of strong fighting men who killed wayfarers as though they were dogs, and who conquered the lands of others. "Now, there is a new day, and therefore we must be united." Later, the councillor described, for my benefit, some of the traditional magic. But, he said, people did not get paid jobs, but Jesus Christ (first) gave jobs for people to take. The village constable would drag them to Kokoda in chains for having told lies, and the magicians would be put to work to stop them from being convicted. They would be fired from their jobs for idling. Such were the old days.

[199] This story stressed the most widely accepted differences between the old and the new way of life: war vs. peace, danger vs. security, division vs. unity, magic vs. Christianity, poverty vs. wealth, simplicity vs. smartness. The councillor was, in every respect, in favour of the new and opposed to the old way. He was not actually
[625] criticising the government, when referring to the activities of the
[769] village constables; nor was he criticising the village constables. On the contrary, the village constables of the early contact period are greatly revered; their names are remembered and recited in much the same way as those of other renowned ancestors. Those who were handcuffed this is the indignity remembered above all else--were lacking in smartness they just did not know the tricks for keeping out of trouble. The village constables, as I was also told at Hohorita, were the men who brought peace, who saw that people did not continue to fight each other.

At Hohorita, I had a series of discussions, at which a number of men participated, about Orokaiva history. On a number of points, which I could check, I was given reliable information. I would therefor

184 Jegase, thus making Sivepe basically into a two-clan village, into
621 which some recent Garombi immigrants remain to be integrated. Inonda,
614 in 1951, consisted of 13 houses of which nine were inhabited by Andiriha, three by Jego-undi and one bachelor's house. In 1966, there were only seven houses, only one of which was occupied by Jego-undi. Hence, Inonda has almost ceased to be a two-clan village today.

571 I have written at length about modern Orokaiva leadership elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1967) and shall do little more here than summarise the conclusions already published. The scope and range of Orokaiva leadership has always been small, except for the heads of extended families (okose) who had a very wide scope of authority. Each village had a set of experts who had unquestioned authority in their sphere of expertise. Examples are the medicine man, the hunting expert,
[554 dancing expert and some others. One of these experts, the feasting
[622 expert, is in fact the man of highest status in the clan or village
[614 and may be called its leader. A clan leader may take responsibility for such corporate actions as a modern clan performs, e.g., raise bride price for one of its members. Except in these circumscribed situations, he is esteemed and respected rather than obeyed. The village leader, in a multi-clan village, is usually the leader of the largest clan. In dealings with other villages, he is the man to whom most respect must be paid; it is here, and when acting as a feasting leader, that he most closely approaches the role of power-bearer. Even so, the Orokaiva word for "feasting leader" is pondo kiari embo, i.e., feasting expert, and in explanation of his role informants always stress that it is based on expertise rather than on a more diffuse concept of status. I also found, after inquiring in Inonda, Hohorita and seven villages in the Sasembata district, that in fact the fathers of all these feasting leaders had occupied the same positions. Nonetheless, informants always denied that the office was inherited; rather, the fact of succession was explained by the transmission of the necessary knowledge from father to son.

621 Australian domination added at once the role of village constable
622 to this somewhat acephalous pattern. One gathers from Monckton that
625 the village constable was chosen on the assumption that he had been
614 the traditional leader. How often that assumption was justified I do not know. In Inonda, he certainly was the Andiriha clan leader. In Sivepe, the situation was more complex. Until about 1939, Sivepe had no village constable of its own, but an Awala man was village constable for a wide area centred on Awala and including Sivepe. The first and only Sivepe village constable was a man now baptised under the name of Samuel but then called Jovareka. Jovareka appeared as witness to prove the innocence of two Sivepe men (from the Seho clan) who had been accused of murdering a small boy from Awala. He showed successfully that the village constable had trumped up a charge against the two Sivepe men and the government appointed Jovareka village constable in his place. Later, Jovareka's area was reduced to a more

621 manageable size. Jovareka was definitely not a hereditary leader in
622 Sivepe; in fact, he was not even born there. On the other hand, the
625 two men he saved belonged to the leading family of the Seho clan,
614 which is the dominant clan of Sivepe. In the circumstances, the law of reciprocity demanded that the Seho clan backed Jovareka as a suitable man to be village constable. His status was accordingly greatly enhanced.

625 The scope of his role, however, may easily be exaggerated. According to Samuel, he was put through a course of training of one day. He was told about how to take a case to court and how to get and give evidence. He was told not to belt anybody, but handcuff them. He had to check that houses were built properly, that sago roofs were replaced and lavatories built. He also had to see that the men cut the grass in the village and the women swept, and that the road built by the government was properly maintained. Each village had its own stretch of road to look after, and this was subdivided into sections for each of the men. This summary tallies [384] with the statements of other informants. We note that some of the included items (such as the women sweeping the village, the replacement of old sago roofs) are traditional activities and hardly required police supervision. Other of the included items, such as the building of lavatories, remained a dead letter until after the eruption, and it was not until 1965 that all houses actually had lavatories. [754] Furthermore, it is only now, with the fear of sorcery diminishing under the impact of Christianity, that anyone would dare to use a lavatory.

I asked Samuel whether he had ever handcuffed anyone or had anyone jailed. No, he had never used the handcuffs. He had never brought anyone from Sivepe to court. He had sent people from other, surrounding villages to court. Tax was never collected past Sangara in his day, he said, implying that his record would not have been so serene if he had had to collect the head tax. Two Sivepe men had actually been taken to court during his period of office, but not by him; it was done by a visiting patrol, for not tending the roads, but they were let off as they had just returned from a period of plantation work. Other Sivepe informants told me that the village constable made little difference to the way of life of the people and this must, I [627] think, be conceded. Nonetheless, Samuel was evidently called in as a mediator in quarrels in other villages and due to his influence, some cases went to court.

625 The evacuation camp seems to have placed a heavy burden on the
731 village constables as they were the middlemen between government and the village people, responsible for the distribution of food and supplies and the setting up of village organisation in the camp. The camp consisted in fact of a number of villages, closely together, in which the village constable was much more in charge than he ever had been. Permission to go back to the home area to check whether possessions had remained undisturbed and to collect food, also had to be given through the village constable who was put in charge of all such

625 731 excursions. This was, however, an experience of short duration and, once back in Sivepe, the village constable reverted to his former role, as described above. In 1956, all village constables handed back to the government their handcuffs, the symbol of their authority, and the Local Government Councils took over.

[685] [571] With regard to interpersonal relations, the evacuation set up a mutual distrust due to the removal of certain social controls. Theft is comparatively uncommon in Orokaiva villages, but this is because property is extremely well-guarded and everyone in the village is constantly under observation by other villagers. The idea of villages being left unguarded was repugnant to Orokaiva, and fear of prowling had to be countered by strict control on the part of village constables over anyone entering the restricted area. I could find no evidence of a change in interpersonal relations beyond the period of evacuation.

476 571 The Orokaiva are not often observed to work in groups; from the relatively acephalous structure it may already be inferred that they do not have regular work leaders controlling groups. Most gardening is done by each extended family separately; house building is done by the prospective occupants with the help of some individuals who feel an obligation, mostly a brother or brother-in-law. Even at feasts, there is a minimum of truly communal labour: the food is supplied by individuals who deliver it to the display platform and it is only the dancing, the ceremonial and a few minor construction tasks that may be communal. There are in Sivepe two yam gardens where work is communal; these are in sharp contrast to all other garden work. Yet people readily gather for common efforts which have a festive and ceremonial nature or enterprises which arouse an episodic enthusiasm. Examples are the communal fishing and hunting expeditions, projects such as the mission hospital or the marking of the ward boundary.

Even during these communal episodes, the tendency is for each small group to perform a certain task separately, though contemporaneously. A hunting party splits up into family groups who do not meet again until the hunt is over. In fishing each group has its own spot. Similarly in the building of new Sivepe, there was little that was overtly communal, as each small group was working on a house for themselves or a close kinsman. Nonetheless, one would be wrong to [342] [177] describe this pattern as Individualistic. After all, every house was in the same style and of the same size--and this was not wholly a "traditional" style; it was a style introducing new materials and an increase in size of about 50%. When such a change is made by everybody who builds a new house, this indicates that the group is strongly bound by collective decisions.

177 654 571 Unwittingly, the Australian government has tended to make the Orokaiva more oriented towards group work than he was before. Road work, the compulsory planting of rubber trees, compulsory resettlement in larger villages--all these added to the volume of group work while the volume of individual work remained constant within the villages.

361 mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government
571 roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading,
Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities
224 for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva
life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands
by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has
[628] probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one
of the few activities which could induce intersettlement co-
311 operation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local
fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off
of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the
wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to
the Orokaiva eye.

157 Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality
norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Oro-
kaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social
structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the
casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-
reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability
at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension inter-
personal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking
contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that
of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before.
In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at
airfields for transport, women and children, far from being
in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the
[657] men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva ter-
ritory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal
[625] Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality char-
acteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such
as patrols may encounter.

791 The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly inter-
esting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though
in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself
"primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence
on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with
[761] particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as
[789] the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent
794 place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern
times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adap-
tability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into
prominence was the *Baigona*, or "snake cult" of 1911-12,
succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which
in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by
the time Williams reported on it in 1924.[7] Central features
of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultiva-
tion with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a
"shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with some-
what new types of public ritual and symbols, including frag-
mentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and
others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist"
societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission
among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing
of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel
404 and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread
668 of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives
791

7. *Orokaiva Magic*, Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. P. and Haddon, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," *Hibbert Journal*, 15, 3 pp. 448-463 (1917). Materials are also found in the official reports of the time.
[113]

liberately endeavored to keep everyone busy, and the men spent much of the time in work gangs (e.g. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday were usually devoted to house-building; Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday to gardens; Friday to roads and hygiene). But leadership and organization were creatures of Government, and to some extent of Mission. There were no significant signs of a self-motivated superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties. Consequently, should larger communities be established with the purpose of preventing the people from scattering out again, they would have to be bureaucratically or theocratically controlled with all the dubious consequences such a situation can entail.

2. Reasonable law and order was being maintained in the new settlements, under the eye of a considerable force of the Papuan Constabulary sent in for the emergency. Opponents of a concentration policy claimed, however, that the older patterns of intergroup hostility and violence are not far enough below the surface to justify the risks involved in larger long-term aggregation. As indicated, problems of land tenure are a major potential source of conflict. Another is "woman trouble," judging from experience in the camps where husbands and wives find themselves in informal association with members of the opposite sex, in contrast to the normal tightly structured small units.

3. Not least among the uncertain factors is that of sorcery. According to those who manage the settlements, fear of coming under the influence of strangers who practice sorcery shows itself as a vague but persistent factor. Most overtly it has emerged in connection with the disposal of waste products in the large camps. In typical Papuan fashion the Orokaiva is extremely secretive in his disposal of faeces and other leavings of his body because of the possibility of their use against him in harmful magic. A crucial question, therefore, has been whether group toilets could provide enough anonymity to forestall opportunities for the practice of sorcery. The problem was dealt with where possible by putting men's and women's latrines over running water. This social-supernatural sanitation problem could be serious where long term settlement of large groups is being planned.

4. On the economic side, no sound basis seems in sight for establishing large permanent communities in the comprehensive manner proposed. As indicated, the familiar pattern of shifting gardens will normally involve seasonal movement outward from the immediate environs of the new settlements where most present cultivations are now being made. As yet, no widespread disposition exists to adopt more intensive sedentary cultivation, although undoubtedly some will be prepared to try to continue cooperative experiments with rice and other crops and, hence, will be amenable to Government and Mission encouragement and aid here. As in socio-political affairs, the responsible organization and leadership would in general have to be provided from outside, with the dependence relationship that this implies. Government might have to continue helping any large community for an indefinite period, as with the mechanized agricultural production it is introducing at the Ilimo camp. In large settlements the technique of handling domestic pigs and chickens, vital sources of protein, is always a difficult